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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the theoretical framework of Jim Cummins has been widely discussed by bilingual educators. This paper traces the evolution of Cummins' theory and examines the criticisms which have been raised against it. The first part of the paper discusses the major elements of his theory of bilingual proficiency: the threshold hypothesis, the developmental interdependence hypothesis, and the Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills/Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency dichotomy. Cummins' use of sociocultural variables such as "bicultural ambivalence" and his recent analysis of the empowerment of minority students are then considered. The paper concludes with a general summation of Cummins' work. Although critics note Cummins' lack of attention to sociocultural factors influencing second language learning, it is argued that he has made major contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education. A 29-item bibliography is included. (Author/MSE)

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THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF JIM CUMMINS A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

David P. Baral

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In recent years, the theoretical framework of Jim Cummins has been widely discussed by bilingual educators. This paper traces the evolution of Cummins' theory and examines the criticisms which have been raised against it. The first part of the paper discusses the major elements of Cummins' theory of bilingual proficiency: the threshold hypothesis, the developmental interdependence hypothesis, and the BICS/CALP dichotomy. Cummins' use of sociocultural variables, such as "bicultural ambivalence," and his recent analysis of the empowerment of minority students are then considered. The paper concludes with a general summation of Cummins' work. Although critics note Cummins' lack of attention to sociocultural factors influencing second language learning, it is argued that he has made major contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education.

Over the past seven years Jim Cummins has published a series of influential papers dealing with the language proficiency of bilingual students (Cummins, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1984a, 1984b, 1986). Cummins' work has been widely discussed by bilingual educators, and it is now central to any discussion of theory in bilingual education (see California State Department of Education, 1981).

Several factors have influenced the growth and development of the theory. First, Cummins has attempted to interpret and integrate disparate empirical findings into his theoretical framework. Second, he has taken up such problematic practical concerns as language testing and entry/exit criteria for bilingual programs. Finally, Cummins has responded to a number of criticisms of his earlier formulations (See Baral, 1980; Edelsky et al, 1983; Rivera, 1984). As a result of this evolutionary process, the theory has become richer and more complex. However, certain key concepts in the early versions of the theory (i.e. semilingualism and the BICS/CALP distinction) are no longer employed by the author, although they are still being used by bilingual education practitioners.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the evolution of Cummins' theoretical framework and to examine some of the criticisms which have been raised against it. The paper begins with a discussion of the best-known aspects of Cummins' work: his theory of bilingual proficiency. This section follows the sequence of recent statements by the author (Cummins, 1984a,

1984b) concerning the evolution of his theory. Subsequent sections of the paper explore the sociocultural aspects of Cummins' theoretical framework. The paper concludes with a general summation of Cummins' contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual instruction.

Linguistic Interdependence of Bilingual Children

Cummins' theory initially resulted from his analysis of research on students who studied in academic programs taught in a language different from the language spoken in the home. By the mid-1970's, studies of students experiencing a "home-school language shift" had produced conflicting results. On the one hand, the failure of language minority students, when schooled in the dominant language of the country, had been documented in a large number of studies. There was substantial evidence concerning the low achievement of these students in the United States (Coleman et al, 1966; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1975) in Latin America (Modiano, 1973; Rubin, 1968; Dillworth and Stark, 1975), and in Europe (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976; Rist, 1979). However, the opposite effects had been observed in the French-language immersion programs in Canada. Students in these programs attained high levels of achievement when schooled in a second language, without any negative effects on the development of their first language (see Swain, 1974, for review).

To account for the different effects of schooling in a second language, Lambert (1977) had proposed a sociocultural explanation. He argued that immersion students were adding a socially relevant language of high prestige (French) which would not replace their home language (English). Lambert described the bilingualism of immersion students as "additive" and compared it with "a more "subtractive" form experienced by many ethnic groups who, because of national educational policies and social pressures of various sorts, are forced to put aside their ethnic language for a national language. Their degree of bilingualism at any time would be likely to reflect some state in the subtraction of their ethnic language and the associated culture, and their replacement with another" (Lambert, 1977, pp. 18-19).

Lambert and others (Lambert, 1977; Cohen, 1976; Swain, 1978) have used the term "submersion" to describe the school experiences of language minority students and have contrasted these experiences with the enrichment form of bilingual instruction offered to members of the dominant,

In contrast to Lambert's sociocultural analysis, Cummins proposed a linguistic explanation to account for the different effects of immersion and submersion experiences. He summarized this explanation in two postulates: the threshold hypothesis and the interdependence hypothesis.

Cummins (1979, p. 229) argued that there are threshold levels of linguistic competence in the home language and in the second language "which bilingual children must attain in order to avoid cognitive deficits and to allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence their cognitive growth." Based on studies of Finnish immigrant students in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976), Cummins proposed a lower and a higher threshold level (see Figure 1). Below the lower threshold level, the bilingual child's ability to interact with his or her educational environment would be severely restricted. Following the Scandinavian researchers, Cummins described the linguistic competence of these children as "semilingualism" or "double semilingualism" to indicate their low level of proficiency in both languages.

Level of Bilingualism Attained	Type of bilingualism	Cognitive Effect
a <u>additive bilingualism</u> high levels in both languages positive cognitive effects		
b <u>dominant bilingualism</u> native like level in one of the languages neither positive nor negative cognitive effects		
c <u>semilingualism</u> low level in both languages, may be balanced or dominant negative cognitive effects		

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The threshold hypothesis implies that children whose linguistic proficiency is below the lower level will experience serious academic difficulties as they progress through the elementary school and encounter increasing cognitive demands which they cannot meet with the limited linguistic repertoire at their command. Linguistic competence below the lower threshold level could account for the poor academic performance of language minority students who are "submersed" in dominant language programs.

Cummins also proposed a higher threshold of linguistic competence, above which the additive forms of bilingualism would become operative, with substantial cognitive benefits for the bilingual child. Linguistic competence above the higher threshold level could explain the performance of children in immersion programs.

Between the two threshold levels is a range in which bilingualism is unbalanced. Students who fall within this range have full command of one language, but are not fully proficient in the second language. This form of unbalanced bilingualism has neither positive nor negative cognitive consequences for the individual. It seems likely that most bilinguals fall into this intermediate category.

Criticisms of "Semilingualism"

Several authors have questioned the use of the term "semilingualism" or "double semilingualism" to describe the linguistic competence of some bilingual children (see Baral, 1980; Edelsky et al., 1983). For example, Baral (1980) pointed out the pejorative connotations of this term, its questionable standing as a linguistic descriptor, and the cultural deprivation model within which it appeared to be embedded.

The term "semilingualism" was originally borrowed from researchers who studied the academic performance of Finnish immigrant students in Sweden (see Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976). However, the Scandinavian researchers employed the term within a conflict theory framework, arguing that semilingualism functions "...as a mediating variable when society reproduces the class structure, and along with it, the vocational structure of the suppressed minorities..." (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1971, p. 1). Cummins, on the other hand, gave the term "semilingualism" a cognitive/linguistic interpretation by arguing that some bilingual children have a reduced level of vocabulary-concept knowledge, metalinguistic

insights, and the ability to process decontextualized language (see Cummins, 1979).

Edelsky et al., (1983, p. 11) argued that Cummins' use of "the term semilingualism fits well into popular stereotypes about 'alingual' children and children 'who don't know English and don't know Spanish either'...", and Baral (1980) commented that this aspect of Cummins' theory appeared to conceptualize bilingualism as a "disease of the poor" (Fishman, 1976).

Cummins and Swain (1983) responded vigorously to these criticisms. Among other things, they pointed out that the linguistic aspects of the theory were embedded in a broader interaction framework which included sociocultural factors (see below), and that the theory itself had evolved. However, by 1983 Cummins no longer used the term "semilingual" and had substituted instead the designation "limited bilingualism."

In addition to the threshold hypothesis, Cummins also proposed a second hypothesis which is concerned with the functional relationship between levels of proficiency in the home language (L1) and the second language (L2).

Interdependence Hypothesis

The first version of the interdependence hypothesis was almost exclusively linguistic in character: "the level of L2 competence which a bilingual child attains is partially a function of the type of competence the child has developed in L1 at the time when intensive exposure to L2 begins" (Cummins, 1979, p. 233).

Cummins used this hypothesis to explain the varying effects of instruction in a second language on different groups of students. He argued that middle-class students in immersion programs typically possess well developed skills in the home language, and therefore are more likely to attain proficiency in a second language through immersion education, without losing ground in their first language. In contrast, Cummins argued that language minority students may be more sensitive to the language of instruction because certain aspects of the L1 remain underdeveloped, and he concluded that "low SES minority language students may be more dependent on the school to provide prerequisites for the acquisition of literacy skills" (Cummins, 1979, p. 249). Although this argument is clearly linguistic in nature, it is interesting to note the appearance of social class factors to

explain the success or failure of students in second language programs.

In a later paper Cummins (1984 a) revised the interdependence hypothesis to stress the transfer of linguistic skills across languages and the influence of sociolinguistic and affective factors. A recent statement of this principle affirms that: "To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly" (p. 143).

Aspects of Language Proficiency

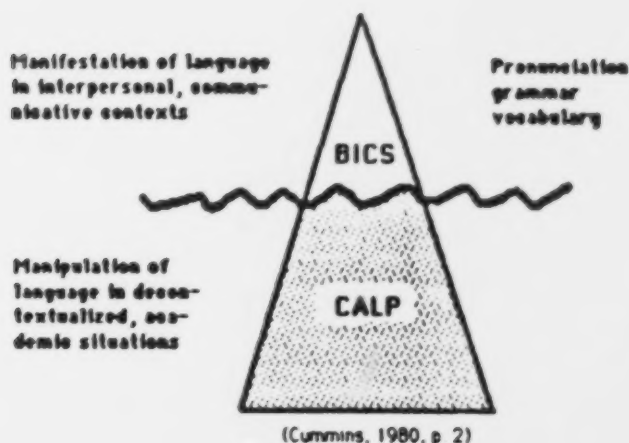
In one of his early papers, Cummins (1979) made a distinction between "surface fluency" and the more academically- related aspects of linguistic competence which was to play a central role in the development of his theory. This distinction was later refined through the elaboration of the BICS/CALP dichotomy, and was finally replaced by a more complex, two dimensional model of language proficiency.

BICS and CALP

At the time that Cummins theory was becoming better known in the United States (the late 1970's and early 1980's), there was an intense public debate concerning the desirability of exiting of children from bilingual programs. In California this debate centered on the issue of "reclassification criteria" which were used to determine whether a student was "ready" to be exited from a bilingual program. Cummins originally developed the BICS/CALP distinction to summarize some of the empirical data which were relevant to the question of when to exit children from bilingual programs (see Cummins, 1983, p. 35).

Cummins (1980, p. 28) defined CALP as "cognitive/academic language proficiency,... the dimension of language proficiency which is related to literacy skills," and BICS as the "cognitively undemanding manifestations of language proficiency in interpersonal situations." The BICS/CALP dichotomy can be presented diagrammatically with reference to an iceberg model. Using this model, the "visible" aspects of language proficiency are pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar. The ability to manipulate language in decontextualized situations, primarily literacy, is portrayed as being "below the surface" (see Figure II).

FIGURE II
The "Iceberg" representation of language proficiency

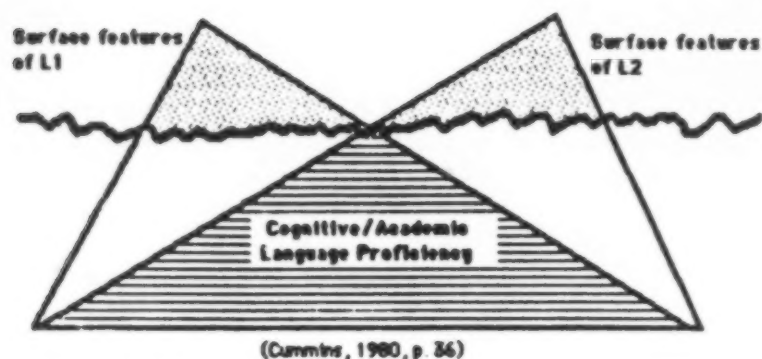


Cummins (1980) used the iceberg model to describe both the first and second language acquisition processes. In first language acquisition, he argued, Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) develop largely as a result of maturation, reach a plateau soon after the child enters school, and are not related to academic achievement. In contrast, Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) continues to develop throughout the school years, following the general curve for cognitive development, and is highly related to academic success or failure.

The same model can be applied to second language learning and to the issue of exiting children from bilingual programs. Cummins (1980) argued that the child's skill in using L2 in interpersonal situations (BICS) and measures of L2 proficiency in BICS tell us very little about the potential success of the child in L2 academic situations which require the ability to manipulate language in decontextualized situations (CALP). One implication of this argument is that a policy of exiting children from bilingual programs based solely on measures of interpersonal language proficiency may be detrimental to the ultimate success of the child in second language academic programs. Cummins also used the BICS/CALP dichotomy to illustrate his theory of the linguistic interdependence of bilingual children. By expanding the iceberg model to a "dual iceberg model," he showed visually

the crosslingual aspects of bilingual proficiency and those features which were specific to each language (see Figure III).

FIGURE III
The "dual iceberg" representation of
Bilingual Proficiency



Cummins (1980) argued that the cognitive/academic aspects of language proficiency in L1 and L2 overlap to a large extent, in spite of important differences in the surface features of each language. One implication of this analysis is that literacy skills can be stimulated by instruction in either language, and therefore time spent in L1 instruction is not time lost for the development of L2, as critics of bilingual education would contend.

Criticisms of BICS and CALP

Many writers have questioned Cummins' use of a dichotomy to contrast the interpersonal and academic aspects of language usage (see Edelsky et al. (1973) and the various papers in Rivera [1941]). In part, criticisms of the BICS/CALP distinction reflected a concern for the growing popularity of the

terms and their possible misuse by bilingual practitioners and others. Spolsky (1984) compared Cummins' use of the terms BICS and CALP to the work of Basil Bernstein. Cummins, he concluded, "fell into the same trap: a useful observation of the existence of different styles was vitiated by a readiness to apply labels, and these labels set up a false dichotomy that was itself socially dangerous" (p. 43). Indeed, Cummins and Swain (1983, p. 36) recognized these dangers and agreed that "the acronyms had the potential to take on a life of their own and risked misinterpretation." However, there were also more fundamental concerns about the meaning of the two terms.

For example, Wald (1984) strongly questioned the assertion that interpersonal language skills (BICS) are unrelated to academic achievement. He pointed out that sociolinguistic studies have shown that "the match of language form and function in everyday situations to the system required in the classroom is very much involved in the outcome of academic achievement." He concluded that cross-linguistic miscommunication influences "the morale of the students in interaction with the teacher [and shapes] the teacher's expectations of the students' capabilities..." (p. 59).

On the other side of the dichotomy, it has proven difficult to demonstrate that CALP is something more than test scores and that it can be distinguished from general ability or measures of literacy. Troike (1984) argued that CALP is closely related to Oller's construct of general language proficiency which is itself related to verbal IQ measures, and therefore he concluded that the CALP construct could be merely a "vacuous tautology." Other writers invoked the principle of parsimony. For example, Wald (1984, p. 60) proposed that "it would be easier to understand CALP as literacy skills, rather than as some more profound psychological construct involving some less well understood form of cognition not attributable to illiterates."

Cummins has responded to these criticisms in two ways. First, Cummins and Swain (1984) pointed out that the BICS/CALP distinction has proved useful to practitioners seeking to understand research results and to deal with public criticism of bilingual education. Second, the distinction itself has been subsumed by a more general formulation of the theory of language proficiency. Cummins' most recent papers no longer make the distinction between BICS and CALP but rather conceptualize language proficiency with reference to the dimensions of contextual support and cognitive complexity.

Contextual Support and Cognitive Involvement.

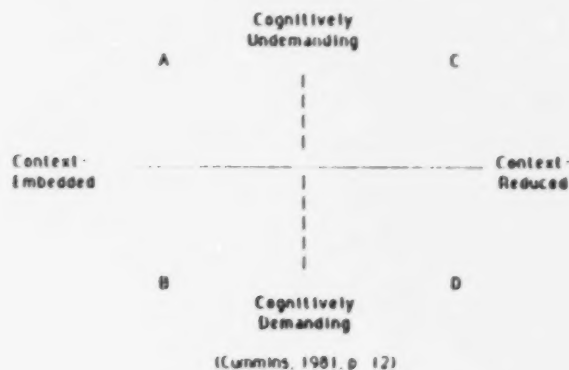
The first dimension is concerned with the degree of contextual support for communication. This dimension can be placed on a continuum ranging from "context embedded" to "context reduced". Cummins (1981) commented that: "In context- embedded communication the participants can actively negotiate meaning (e.g., by providing feedback that the message has not been understood) and the language is supported by a wide range of meaningful paralinguistic (gestures, intonation, etc.) and situational cues; context-reduced communication, on the other hand, relies primarily on linguistic cues to meaning and may, in some cases, involve suspending knowledge of the "real" world in order to interpret (or manipulate) the logic of communication appropriately" (p.11).

Communication situations can be placed at some point on this dimension. An example of progression from context-embedded communication to context-reduced would be: conversation with a friend, speaking in class, an informal letter, and reading a complicated article in a new field.

The second dimension involves the degree of cognitive complexity in the communication situation: the degree to which the communication task actually requires the participant to process new information. Cummins (1981, pp. 12-13) characterized the cognitive complexity of a communication situation in terms of "the amount of information that must be processed simultaneously or in close succession by the individual in order to carry out the activity." Communication situations vary in complexity, which is partly due to the characteristics of the learner. As linguistic skills are mastered, they move toward the undemanding side of the dimension. Thus this dimension captures some aspects of the developmental process of second language learning.

These two dimensions are represented graphically in Figure IV.

FIGURE IV
The range of contextual support and degree of
cognitive involvement in communicative activities



Although the previous dichotomy between BICS and CALP has been replaced by the two continua, it is clear that the basic distinction between academic and interpersonal aspects of language are still present in the new formulation. In general, quadrant A corresponds to BICS and quadrant D to CALP.

Cummins and Swain (1983, p. 37) discussed some instructional implications of the latest model of language proficiency and concluded that "a major pedagogical principle for both L1 and L2 teaching is that language skills in context-reduced situations can be most successfully developed on the basis of initial instruction which maximizes the degree of context-embeddedness, i.e. the range of cues to meaning."

Sociocultural and Affective Factors

Previous sections dealing with the linguistic aspects of Cummins' theory of bilingual proficiency have noted the appearance of non-linguistic factors, even in discussions which are primarily linguistic in nature. These factors must now be considered.

In several papers Cummins (1980, 1981, 1982) has discussed sociocultural and affective factors influencing second language learning. He has pointed out that purely linguistic arguments cannot explain why certain

minority groups fail when experiencing a second language learning situation in school, while other groups succeed. Cummins (1980, p. 47) argued that minority groups which have disproportionately high failure rates in school may experience "bicultural ambivalence." They may develop ambivalent or hostile relations toward the dominant social group and become insecure about their own language and culture. These feelings of ambivalence and insecurity, he claimed, may result in low motivation to succeed in school and to maintain L1. Teachers may also contribute to this pattern of school failure through lowered expectations or hostility toward the cultural background of the student.

Cummins (1979) pointed out that a motivational explanation provides an alternative to linguistic explanations of the relative success of older immigrants in L2 schools, when compared to the performance of younger immigrants. In most of his papers, Cummins explains the success of older students with reference to schooling in their home land which stimulated CALP development in L1, and the resulting transfer of literacy skills from L1 to L2. A motivational explanation, however, would point out that older immigrant students may not internalize the feelings of "bicultural ambivalence", or experience the low expectations of teachers. Therefore, they may be more receptive to learning a second language and make more rapid academic progress in spite of their limited exposure to L2.

He also suggested that this motivational argument can be applied to bilingual programs: "a major reason why bilingual education is successful in helping to reverse minority students' pattern of academic failure is that by validating the cultural identity of the students (as well as the community), it reduces their ambivalence towards the majority language and culture" (Cummins, 1982, p. 12).

Criticisms of Cummins' Use of Sociocultural Factors

The most common criticism of Cummins' theory is his treatment of sociocultural factors (see all papers in Rivera [1984]). For example, Genesee (1984) claimed that Cummins recognizes the influence of social factors on the development of academic language proficiency but pays little attention to these factors in his papers. Genesee also pointed out that the high school failure rate of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds suggests the limitations of a purely linguistic analysis. Troike (1984) went even further in criticizing the linguistic focus of Cummins explanations, and he concluded that "...social and cultural factors may be more powerful than purely linguistic

factors in influencing educational achievement, and, indeed, that the linguistic factors may be simply a second or third order reflection of the social context of schooling" (p. 49).

Wald (1984, p. 59) argued that Cummins theoretical framework reflects the basic isolation of psychological theories from sociolinguistic and ethnographic research. As an example of what is not considered by Cummins' theory, Wald cited the case of the nonstandard and low prestige varieties of language spoken by bilingual students. Wald (1984, p. 57) concluded that "...stigma and subtler forms of negative evaluation of minority students' linguistic behavior have social consequences in student-teacher and student-test interaction that lead to depressed academic achievement, an aggravated classroom situation, truancy, and possible dropping out of school at an early age."

Cummins' response to these criticisms has been to point out that his interaction model of bilingual education (Cummins, 1979) includes some sociocultural factors, as does his discussion of "bicultural ambivalence" (see above). Cummins has always claimed that the linguistic aspects of his theory should be considered as intervening variables which mediate the effects more fundamental sociocultural processes (Cummins, 1979, 1984b). Nonetheless, sociocultural factors have not played a central role in his theory, as his critics suggest. However, a recent paper on the empowerment of minority students (Cummins, 1986) is primarily concerned with these factors.

Empowering Minority Students

Cummins' basic contention in this paper is that students from minority groups are "empowered" or "disabled" in school as a result of their interactions with educators. If they are empowered, they "develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically" (Cummins, 1986, p. 23). Students who are disabled by their school experiences do not develop the confidence to succeed. Thus, Cummins argues, relationships in school tend to mirror relationships in society at large, with positive or negative consequences for minority students. The major elements of his argument are presented in Figure V.

FIGURE V
Empowerment of minority students:
A theoretical framework



According to Cummins, there are four areas which are crucial to the success of minority students: (1) cultural/linguistic incorporation, (2) community participation, (3) pedagogy, and (4) assessment. In discussing each area he identifies potential role definitions by educators which are stated as pairs of polar opposites (see Figure V).

Under the general heading of cultural/linguistic incorporation, Cummins (1986, p. 25) comments that "educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to their students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture." He points out that actually using the primary language for instruction is not the main issue, but rather the attitudes which educators demonstrate toward that language and toward the children's home cultural traditions.

Community participation in programs for minority students is required by law, but as Cummins (1986) points out, parent advisory committees can be manipulated by school personnel. Cummins cites evidence (Tizard, Schofield, & Hewison, 1982) which shows that a collaborative relationship between educators and parents can lead to enhanced student performance. He concludes by affirming that "teachers operating at the collaborative end of

the continuum actively encourage minority parents to participate in promoting their children's academic progress both in the home and through involvement in classroom activities... Teachers with an exclusionary orientation, on the other hand, tend to regard teaching as their job and are likely to view collaboration with minority parents as either irrelevant or detrimental to children's progress" (Cummins, 1986, p. 27).

In discussing pedagogical orientation, Cummins (1986, p28) contrasts the transmission model of education with the reciprocal model of instruction. The transmission model, which characterizes much of American education, is similar to Freire's "banking" model (see Freire 1970, 1973). For language minority students, this model has often produced instruction directed toward identified weaknesses, drill and practice, and over-correction of errors by teachers. The reciprocal model which Cummins espouses places more emphasis on student responsibility for learning, emphasizes meaningful use of oral and written language for communication purposes, and, in general, stresses instruction directed toward higher order thinking skills.

Cummins argues that traditional assessment techniques have been primarily used to identify the "problems" of minority students, based on the assumption that the cause of their school failure is internal. In contrast to this view of assessment as "legitimation", Cummins (1986) proposes an "advocacy" role for assessment. It "locates the pathology within the societal power relations between dominant and dominated groups, in the reflection of these power relations between schools and communities, and in the mental and cultural disabling of minority students that takes place in classrooms" (p. 30).

Conclusions

Jim Cummins' theoretical framework has come to play an important role in bilingual education. Indeed, it is now difficult to discuss the field without reference to his work. This final section summarizes Cummins' contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education.

Cummins' theory has helped to clarify thinking about instructional practices in bilingual education. As an example, bilingual education practitioners have always known that home language instruction was important, but L1 instruction was initially justified with reference to the "linguistic mismatch theory." Cummins not only showed why the idea of

linguistic mismatch was a weak rationale for bilingual education, but he also provided, through the threshold hypothesis and the linguistic interdependence hypothesis, a much stronger justification for instruction in two languages. His theory of bilingual proficiency has helped practitioners to articulate a rationale for bilingual instruction and respond to criticisms of the field.

Cummins' theory has also provided a convenient framework within which to analyze conflicting research findings. As an example, the theory has been used to integrate the results of studies which show that the process of becoming bilingual can have either positive or negative effects, and that instruction in a second language can have different effects on different groups of students. This synthesis of research findings has helped bilingual education practitioners respond to critics who would conclude, from the results of the Canadian immersion programs, that language minority students in this country should receive the same instruction as English speaking students.

The theoretical framework has also helped to clarify issues concerning the exiting of children from bilingual programs. Articles in the popular press, and many professional educators, have argued that "children should be exited from bilingual programs as soon as possible so that they can learn English." Cummins' analysis of the academic and interpersonal aspects of language proficiency has helped to demonstrate that these popular arguments are unsound and to give support to the idea that long-term bilingual programs may be more successful than short-term interventions.

The evolution of the theoretical framework over the years has been the subject of some discussion in this paper. From the standpoint of theory development in the social sciences, this evolutionary process is quite normal. As theories are proposed and tested, it is common for simplistic dichotomies to be replaced with continua, and ultimately to be subsumed in more complicated formulations. However, the evolution of Cummins' theory presents some dangers for practitioners in the field. Earlier versions of his theory of bilingual proficiency are still in circulation, and many educators still speak of "semilingual" children and children with "BICS and CALPs," even though the author has abandoned the use of these terms.

Cummins' relative neglect of sociocultural factors involved in second language learning and his emphasis on linguistic factors has been noted by all critics of his theory. Cummins' recent discussion of student empowerment has clearly strengthened the sociocultural aspects of the theory, and this may

answer some of his critics. However, the linkages between this analysis of empowerment and Cummins' previous discussions of linguistic interdependence are still not clearly established.

Cummins' contributions to the development of a theoretical basis for bilingual education are considerable. If his theory is not equally successful in explaining all aspects of learning a second language, we should not be surprised, given the diversity of factors which can influence second language instructional programs. A complete catalog of these factors would have to include national educational policies, structural relationships between groups in multicultural societies, the diversity of linguistic and cultural groups for which bilingual instruction is being provided, and the wide variety of instructional treatments which fall under the general rubric of bilingual instruction.

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